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 596 857

the house and are not given very much free time. They work in the kitchen and around the house, assisting their mother and sisters-in-law and helping to take care of younger siblings or nieces or nephews. In their spare time they usually make fiber hats. Unlike their young brothers (who spend much time playing and little helping in the house or fields), the girls, partially as training for their eventual marriage, are burdened with a good deal of responsibility from morning until night.

In the joint or stem family, the discipline of children is theoretically performed by any adult who happens to be present. However, in Hsin Hsing village it is considered better for a child's own parents to discipline him when at all possible; a paternal uncle may correct his nephew only if the boy's parents are absent. It is well realized that antagonisms between members of the larger family can too easily arise over this problem. 596 593 861

Although the discipline of daughters-in-law is traditionally a prerogative of the mother-in-law (the *chia chang's* wife), she imposes her authority through her son, the girl's husband. Thus, if a daughter-in-law steps out of line—especially if she is new in the family—her mother-in-law will call her husband in and demand that he beat his wife or otherwise discipline her. The *chia chang* himself has almost nothing to do with his sons' wives. He not only does not concern himself with their discipline but he seldom talks with them, and would not remain alone in the room with one of them. 596 593 606

However, the *chia chang* shows little overt feelings towards any member of his family. While he is likely to fondle his infant son or daughter, and especially a grandchild, in public, such open display of affection ceases completely when the child is several years old. After that a man's relationship with his children becomes quite formal. 596 593

Many villagers still feel that when each person in the joint family fulfills his role properly, this form of family structure has great advantages. They say that only the large family can "become wealthy" and have "power." The large family makes it possible for people to work at a combination of occupations. While most of the family lives in the village and works the large landholdings which villagers believe only a large family can accumulate, some of the members may work in the town or perhaps locally as minor civil servants. Only a large family can have numerous contacts outside the village with relatives by marriage and with friends. To the Hsin Hsing villager, these extensive relationships with outside people, and frequent visits from these people, symbolize the family's status and enhance its reputation and prestige. 596 [591]

The villagers' views about the advantages which accrue to the large family which make it their ideal are not without foundation. There are families in the Hsin Hsing area, usually landlord families, which 596

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596 the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

596 As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic
594 families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem fo[illegible]nd some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division t[illegible]ace and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

596 There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form
434 which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An
578 insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many devisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For [502] example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

[459] Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work,
[167] leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or
[606] no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

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582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the circumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i*; the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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village orchestra plays amid banners wishing each man luck and a speedy return or general congratulations on going into the army. These banners are sent by *ch'in ch'i* and friends, and the number of banners each man receives is often considered an indication of his family's popularity. The villagers form a procession and accompany the draftees for more than two miles to the *hsiang* Public Office where young men from several villages meet to be taken away to the army camp in government trucks. The departure of men to the army is thus made into a rather grand and colorful occasion. The villagers report that this tradition began during Japanese times, and it bears many similarities to Embree's (1939:195–203) description of such celebrations in Suye Mura.

The two years or so of military service are full of new experiences for many of the village boys, since it is their first opportunity to travel to other parts of Taiwan and come in constant contact with men from other areas of the island as well as mainlanders. But once his term of military service is over, a man usually returns to his earlier occupation and, if he is single, he can expect to have a marriage arranged for him soon after his discharge. The activities of these ex-service men in civilian life are not noticeably different from what they were before military service.

MARRIAGE

Today, in Taiwan the average age for marriage is twenty-four for men and twenty-two for women by Chinese reckoning. Before the 1950's the ages at marriage were two years younger: twenty-two and twenty. The obvious reason for this change is military conscription. Usually, men enter the army when they are twenty-two, and although this is still considered the proper age for a man to marry, families with sons about to be called into service tend to postpone marriage arrangements. In most cases they prefer not to have the son marry, enter the army, and leave the new daughter-in-law behind, since the villagers feel that the son should be present, especially early in a marriage, to establish the wife in habits of good behavior and obedience. In general, while the mother-in-law holds authority over her daughters-in-law, in actuality it is the girl's husband who best enforces this authority. In Hsin Hsing village, for example, there have been cases in which a daughter-in-law disobeyed or was disrespectful to her mother-in-law. In such instances it would be quite unusual for the mother-in-law to attempt to impose her authority by physical means. Instead, she is likely to speak with her son and demand that he force his wife into line. The son uses whatever means he feels necessary—speaking firmly to his wife or, sometimes, even beating her—to make her obey his mother. Parents fear that their inability to control a daughter-in-law

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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

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While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

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ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

461 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

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changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

#584 able to completely recoup their financial loses and exonerate their family's reputation. They returned to Hsiachichou laughing and cheering, delighted with their complete victory, and all sat down to a "wedding" feast.

The engagement is always held in the home of the bride's family, and is typically attended by the bride and her close relatives, the go-between, the groom's father and mother, and perhaps the groom's father's brothers or his father's father. The groom himself is never present. There is always a feast at which many of the members of the two families meet for the first time, and there is therefore always much toasting and an exchange of formalized greetings. So far as the progress of the marriage itself is concerned, however, the core of the engagement consists of a simple ceremony in which the future mother-in-law pre-
#584 sents her son's bride with a gold ring. The bride sits with her back
• 606 to her family altar facing the door of the kōng-thiâ: a position which symbolizes her departure from the family, and her mother-in-law places the ring on the index finger of her right hand. The significance of the ceremony lies in the fact that it represents the commitment of the two families to the marriage, and that it is also taken to presage the future relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. According to popular tradition, if the mother-in-law manages to slip the ring past the younger woman's knuckle she will be able to dominate her daughter-in-law, while if she fails, the daughter-in-law will be able to maintain a certain independence in her new home. The morning before any engagement one will always hear a girl's mother and her paternal

584 aunts urging her to keep her finger stiff and not let the mother-in-
606 law dominate her. Although in most instances either the mother-in-law or the daughter-in-law will give in to the other, it occasionally happens that two strong willed women meet, and there is then a brief but tense struggle as the ring is placed on the girl's finger, this possibility being the issue which gives a sense of climax to every engagement.

584 When the two parties to a marriage are both very poor they may
585 agree to hold the engagement and wedding on the same day as a means of
183 saving money, but it is generally recognized in Hsiachichou that to be proper the engagement and wedding should be separated by at least a year. The result is that most weddings take place quite some time after the engagement. Families who cannot afford a separate engagement and wedding will not ordinarily undertake the preferred form of marriage at all, preferring to adopt a "little daughter-in-law", while those families who can afford the preferred marriage will usually not want
[594] to risk their face by telescoping the engagement and wedding. As we shall see later, one of the primary motivations for undertaking the preferred form of marriage is that the cost of such a marriage gives a family an opportunity for enhancing their social standing, and so any family which chooses to undertake such a marriage is not going to offset the prestige of the marriage by carrying it out in anything but the proper manner.

585 The wedding which climaxes the preferred form of marriage is always an occasion of some magnitude. The typical village wedding is attended by at least a hundred people, and we witnessed one wedding which had

*583 591 611 [553] with the surname of their spouse, and in so doing they tactitly agree that their children will all follow in that line of descent. But while this form of marriage is recognized as legitimate, and is indeed taken as the model for matrilocal marriages, such marriages are not at all common in Hsiachichou. We know of only 2 marriages which could be classified as examples of this extreme form.

Much more common in the case of Hsiachichou is a form of marriage which involves a compromise between the paternal and maternal principles. Rather than entirely resigning his proper position in his own line of descent, the male who makes such a marriage retains his own surname, and also makes provision that at least one of his male offspring will take this name. At the time of the marriage, for example, it may be agreed that the first born son will take the mother's surname, leaving the other children to acquire their descent in the normal way.

*583 591 606 [428] Men who make such marriages ordinarily take up more or less permanent residence with their wives' parents with the result that they become sons of the family in effect if not in name. They contribute their earnings and their labor to the general welfare of the family; they recognize the authority of the wife's father as head of the household; and they often inherit from their wife's parents. The extent of the obligations of such a husband to his wife's parents is considered a negotiable matter, however, and in some cases the man may only agree to spend some specific period of time as a member of the wife's household, the arrangement being that after this time has elapsed he is free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê. In

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583 a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law.
582 While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

583 One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of
591 completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a cio̍u-ji̍p-chhia-chhu̍t marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," cio̍u-ji̍p; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chhia-chhu̍t. A cio̍u-ji̍p-chhia-chhu̍t marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms
[606] of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents.
[591] In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's sur-
[559] name, although some informants claim that it is possible for one
178 child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has
583 occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the cio̍u-ji̍p-chhia-chhu̍t marriage in place of

842 and "bad fortune," or "good name" and "bad name"; many illustrated their answers by pointing to a man with many sons as an example of hǒu miā: and one with no sons as an example of pâi miā:.

593 842 606 Although the ultimate responsibility for providing descendants belongs to the male members of the family, the immediate responsibility rests with those women who are their wives. The fertility symbols with which the marriage ritual is embossed serve to remind the bride that her primary duty to her husband's family is to bear children. Until she has fulfilled this duty she must "walk quietly" in her husband's house. Because of the high cost of marriage, few families in Hsiachichou would even consider repudiating a barren daughter-in-law, but neither would they forgive the daughter-in-law who failed to bear them grandchildren. The mother-in-law will usually take every opportunity to remind her of her failure. To her, the girl's failure is a terrible disappointment, casting a shadow over what were to be the joyous years of her old age. Something of the bitterness which arises in such a situation is apparent in a comment we overheard while talking to a woman whose three children were all adopted. During the course of our conversation, the natural born daughter of the woman's sister-in-law interrupted and was told to go away and "stop being a useless girl." Our informant's mother-in-law happened to be sitting in the same room and took this opportunity to comment, "It doesn't matter very much whether children are boys or girls. What really matters is whether or not a woman bears children."

be concerned about social approval and propriety, these decisions clearly involved other considerations.

One of these would seem to be the type of family created by the two different forms of marriage. Tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is characteristic of the preferred form of marriage from the very inception of the relationship. At the engagement when the mother-in-law attempts to push the engagement ring past her daughter-in-law's knuckle, the assumption of hostility between the two women is symbolically expressed, and this hostility tends to become more intense and more open as the relationship matures. During the early years of the marriage, when the mother-in-law is still an active woman, and before her daughter-in-law has secured her position in the family, the older woman will usually be the dominant member of the pair, a position which she seldom hesitates to exploit, taking advantage of every opportunity to harass and embarass her son's wife. A stranger in her husband's village as well as in his home, the untried and insecure bride has no choice but to swallow her resentment, but this early attitude of restraint does not last. The birth of her own children gives the young woman as much of a claim to a place in her husband's family as the mother-in-law herself, and in time the young woman also finds friends and confidantes among her husband's relatives and neighbors. Resentful of her mother-in-law's treatment of her, and often seeing the dissolution of the family as being to her advantage, the daughter-in-law then begins to respond to her mother-in-law's abuse in kind. The result is an active and

606 open conflict which threatens the harmony, and indeed the very existence of the extended family. Although obviously biased in favor of the speaker's point of view, the following excerpt from a village conversation indicates something of the intensity of the conflict between

[761] the two women. The conversation refers to a recent death which a shaman interpreted as the result of a death bed curse.

> "You didn't know my mother-in-law, did you? My mother-in-law was terrible at cursing people. She used every kind of curse. But I was very good to her just the same. I took her food to her when it was time to eat no matter how far away from the house she was. So when she died my husband's father said to me, 'All right, she is dead now. It doesn't matter how much she cursed you. You were so good to her that from now on you will certainly have good fortune and live very well.' The mother-in-law of that woman who died could really curse people, and so I think that what the god said is right. That woman really didn't treat her mother-in-law at all well. Her mother-in-law was blind and bedridden, and she seldom went to look after her or feed her. She wasn't filial to her mother-in-law, and so naturally what her mother-in-law said came true. I think that if you are filial to your mother-in-law it doesn't matter how much she may curse you."

An occasional good-tempered daughter-in-law will ignore her mother-in-law's provocations, and not all mothers-in-law are sharp tongued and unreasonable curmudgeons. Exceptions do occur, but they are rare. Our field notes include references to bitter quarrels or complaints involving nearly every mother-in-law and daughter-in-law living in the village during the period of our study. So nearly universal is the tension between the two women that the villagers themselves regard a peaceful relationship as extraordinary. When one village woman let it be known that she thought that her new daughter-in-law was both considerate and hard-working the situation became a

606 matter of general village attention and the topic so widely discussed that references to it appear in our field notes again and again over a period of several months. At first the tone of the village response was that of knowing amusement, everyone confidently implying that it wouldn't last more than a few weeks. When the usual change of heart did not take place quite as soon as expected, this attitude gradually gave way to resentment and even irritation. A number of village women seemed to feel that the woman was causing them trouble by praising her daughter-in-law. As one of them put it to us, "She just goes around telling everyone how good her daughter-in-law is, and this just makes a lot of trouble. It makes other people mad at their own daughters-in-law just to hear it." The eventual deterioration of the relationship was greeted by the family's neighbors with satisfaction and a sense of relief. To the best of our knowledge, the only cordial relationship of the kind in the village involved an elderly woman and the wife of her younger son, the wife of the elder son being a woman with a village-wide reputation of being a "hot pepper". It seems from what the family's neighbors told us that the older woman had been forced to come to terms with her younger daughter-in-law in order to hold her position vis-à-vis her elder son's wife. While this may not be that rare exception which proves the rule, it does serve to underscore our more general point.

606 *584 This tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is at least in part a product of the process by which the preferred form of marriage is arranged. It is usually the groom's mother who takes

primary responsibility for negotiating the details of the marriage, and she is the person who is most likely to become angry as a result of the inevitable haggling involved in these negotiations. Irritated by the size of the bride price she has had to pay and resentful over what she considers an inadequate dowry, she awaits her daughter-in-law's arrival "with an angry face." Given, then, a situation in which the mother-in-law must supervise her daughter-in-law's work, a situation very much exacerbated by the fact that the mother-in-law often has good reason to be dissatisfied with her daughter-in-law's performance, it is almost inevitable that tensions will develop between the two women. The girl is bound to make mistakes as a result of being unacquainted with the routine of the household, and often she has not been properly trained in much of the work expected of a married woman. One woman told us that she was so worried about this that she did not sleep or eat for three days before her marriage.

> "Nobody could have been more worried than I was before I got married. I never used to go out of the house, not even for a walk. Daughters don't learn to cook or to take care of a house. I was so worried that I couldn't eat or sleep for three or four days, and I was so tired the day of the wedding that I could hardly walk."

A sympathetic mother-in-law may remember her own experience as a bride, but more often than not this is only a distant memory given no relevance to the present situation. What is usually foremost in the older woman's mind is that with a daughter-in-law she will have someone to shoulder the burden of the household chores. A few minutes after describing her own anxiety as a bride, this same woman told us

606 that she was so happy her son was marrying soon "because now I will have somebody to help me cook and take care of this large family." She was naturally very much disappointed when her daughter-in-law turned out to be no better prepared than she herself had been, and as a result she was constantly complaining that her daughter-in-law was a "useless girl who doesn't know how to do anything but eat rice."

Listening to the daily bickering among the women of the household, one gets the impression that the tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is primarily a matter of conflict over household routine. The mother-in-law complains that her son's wife "doesn't know how to do anything," that "she is lazy and stupid," that "she doesn't know the worth of money," and so forth. For her part, the daughter-in-law accuses the older woman of "really being able to scold," of not giving her son "enough money to buy anything," and of being generally demanding and bad tempered. But while these daily encounters over matters of household management and the domestic division of labor do add to the tensions between the two women, they are more the topics of the conflict than the real cause of the tension.

593 606 152 The origins of the tension between the two women would seem rather to be a competition for the loyalty of the young man who is the older woman's son and the younger woman's husband. A woman proves herself as a woman and secures her position as a wife by bearing male children. It is through her sons and by means of her sons that a woman finds a place in life. Moreover, given the ideal of an expressionless and unemotional relationship between husband and wife, a woman's male

*593 children are often the only appropriate objects for her affections.
• 606 It is not surprising then that she is jealous of the woman who enters
152 her son's life and threatens to replace her in his sympathies, and this jealousy finds expression in an exaggerated reaction to the irritations of life in the kitchen. For her part, the daughter-in-law soon learns that her husband is the only potential ally she has in her new home. Although her father-in-law may sympathize with her predicament, the expectation of avoidance prevents him from ever playing a protective role, and the inevitable conflicts between brothers effectively precludes any possibility of a sympathetic relationship with her husband's sisters-in-law. The young woman therefore turns to her husband as her confidant and her resource, hoping that she will be able to talk him into leaving the larger family, thus freeing herself forever of the tyranny of her mother-in-law. This tactic naturally serves to confirm the worst of her mother-in-law's fears, and her irritation and resentment of the daughter-in-law is increased proportionately. The result is a conflagration that feeds on its own flames. The more resentful and jealous the mother-in-law, the more she tyrannizes her son's wife; and the more she is victimized, the greater the daughter-in-law's efforts to pry her husband out of his natal family, this effort serving to confirm the older woman's suspicions and intensify her resentment.

This more basic cause of the conflict between the two women is often laid bare in times of crisis. In their daily encounters both women express themselves in the rhetoric of the kitchen, but when these

593 606 152 minor encounters boil up into a crisis the real cause of their differences comes to the fore. When a village mother who was having great difficulty with her daughter-in-law seemed to be losing control of the situation, her complaint was not that the daughter-in-law [redacted] or incompetent, but rather that her daughter-in-law "is trying to steal my son from me." She told her son, "I'll go kill myself, and then the two of you can be alone and not be bothered with a mother." In this particular case the son responded in terms of the ideal role for a son, assuring his mother that he would send his wife away rather than cause his mother pain. In his own words, "How can I let you do that? If she isn't good to you, then I'll send her back to her family. How can I let you kill yourself?" Such a response naturally encourages a mother and temporarily calms her fears, but there is always the worrisome possibility that someday her daughter-in-law will alienate her from her son. To bear sons is a woman's first great trial in life; to maintain their loyalty and affection is the second and more difficult trial. As a well known proverb tells, "You can bear a son's body, but you can never know a son's heart." In sympathizing with a neighbor who was having trouble with her son's wife, a village woman expressed what is probably the most basic fear of every mother with a married son.

> "You raise your children, and then when they grow up they are always someone else's. Your daughter belongs to your son-in-law, and your son belongs to his wife. Especially those men who always listen to what their wives say. If you say two words to your daughter-in-law, then they'll get mad and move out of the family."

The relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is very different in the case of the sīm-pûà marriage. The girl who is adopted as a child and raised as a daughter in the family does not ordinarily become involved in the conflict that occupies the girl who enters her husband's family as a young adult. There are several reasons for this difference. For one thing, the sīm-pûà is socialized in terms of the routine of her husband's household, and so there is less occasion for conflict with her husband's mother over household matters. Nothing is demanded of the girl at the time of her marriage which she has not already learned as a daughter of the family. For another, the girl does not have a natal home to which she feels she can turn in desperation, nor does she have any other experience which might cause her to make unfavorable comparisons with her life in her husband's family. The only family life she has ever experienced is that of her husband's family. She knows of no other way of doing things and has no other standard. More importantly, the sīm-pûà marriage creates a family in which a girl's mother-in-law is also her mother, a woman's daughter-in-law also her daughter. A girl's husband's mother is the same woman who nursed her and cared for her when she was a child; and a woman's daughter-in-law is a child whom she herself raised and educated. The inevitable tensions of life as members of the same household are offset by a natural affection arising from a prolonged and intimate association. Moreover, there is also the possibility that this early association of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law precludes the development of the intense competition over the son and husband which is at

*597 • 606 the root of the conflict created by the preferred form of marriage. A mother can hardly think of herself as being replaced in her son's affections by a woman who is her own daughter, and a man's wife is not likely to work to alienate him from his parents when they are also her parents. She will not, like the wife entering as an adult, see her husband as her only potential allys and will not feel the need to make any of the exclusive claims on him that are so frightening to mothers. She will have accepted her mother's claim on her brother long before she conceived of having any claims of her own on him as a husband. Thus the sĭm-pûa marriage solves the mother-in-law daughter-in-law conflict by simply replacing this relationship with the more satis- [601] factory mother-daughter relationship. The daughter-in-law in the preferred marriage only addresses her husband's parents as "father" and "mother," while in the sĭm-pûa marriage a woman's husband's parents are her father and mother. One might say that the sĭm-pûa marriage creates the social and psychological reality idealized in the kinship terminology.

*597 *593 152 We have already seen that adopted daughters are often cruelly mistreated by their foster parents. One might therefore expect that many adopted daughters would grow up resenting and perhaps hating their foster parents, and that this would result in anything but a satisfactory in-law relationship. This is not the case, however. For reasons which we do not entirely understand, the resentment which many adopted daughters feel as a result of this treatment is usually directed at their natal family rather than their foster family. They blame their biological parents for giving them away rather than their foster parents

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lived around there. I would just sit there hoping that we would eat pretty soon so that I could run back home. I was fourteen years old before I finally spent a night in my natal home.

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While we would argue that the sīm-pûa's willingness "to listen to her mother-in-law" is primarily a result of her experience as a child of the family, it is important to note that it is very much reinforced by the attitude of the family's neighbors and relatives. Quarreling and bickering between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage is expected, and the most common reaction of outsiders is one of mild and somewhat bemused disapprobation. A mother-in-law cannot depend upon public opinion to help her in dealing with a recalcitrant daughter-in-law. In the case of the sīm-pûa marriage, however, the situation is very different. The daughter-in-law is then also a daughter of the family, and it would be an offense against filial piety for her to quarrel with her mother-in-law since she is also her mother. The daughter-in-law can criticize her mother-in-law without any great risk of losing social support, but the sīm-pûa who quarrels with her husband's mother may very well find herself ostracized as an unfilial daughter. The sīm-pûa marriage thus has the effect of binding the daughter-in-law to her husband's family with a double bond. She is expected to work and bear children for the family as a daughter-in-law, and she is expected to obey and honor her husband's parents as a daughter.

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Aside from its economic advantages, the sīm-pûa form of marriage would, therefore, also seem to have a real structural advantage. A

daughter-in-law obtained in the preferred way will almost inevitably come into open conflict with her husband's mother, and as a result will often attempt to cause trouble between her husband and his parents as a means of escaping from the family. Such a marriage therefore constitutes a threat to the parents' security in their old age, beyond the more subtle fracture it produces in the mother's exclusive relationship with her son. By comparison, the girl who is adopted as a sīm-pûà is usually submissive and obedient in her relations with her husband's mother. Whatever tensions may exist in the situation are offset by the two women's long association and by the social fact that the younger woman is both a daughter-in-law and a daughter. We can thus see that there might be a reason for a family to choose the sīm-pûà form of marriage even though they were wealthy enough to afford the preferred form of marriage. Whereas the preferred marriage creates a complex of relationships which are a threat to the goals of the kē, the relationships created by the sīm-pûà marriage are generally conducive to the achievement of these goals. It is not enough for parents to produce sons and grandsons. They must also be certain that these children will not be alienated from them in the course of their lifetimes, and in terms of this goal the sīm-pûà marriage has real advantages over the preferred form of marriage.

But one further question needs to be considered to make this argument complete. The sīm-pûà marriage may be more conducive to family harmony than the preferred form of marriage, but are the people of Hsiachichou generally aware of this? If they are not, can we say

*121 that the high frequency of sīm-pûà adoptions is partially explained
*583 by this structural advantage? Curiously enough, the question is one
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183 which is not even asked in many anthropological analyses. Having abstracted what he considers to be the structural requirements of the system, the analyst then explains this or that aspect of the system in terms of its relationships to these needs, never asking himself whether or not the people who constitute the society are aware of these requirements. Such explanations strike this anthropologist as being comparable to saying that a person's heart beats because he will die if it doesn't. Social structure and culture do not act. Only individual human organisms act, and they act only in terms of their own motives and their own goals. The needs of a social system can only become explanations of the existence of certain aspects of that system when these needs can be phrased in terms of the goals and motives of human actors. We therefore consider it of particular importance to point out that the people of Hsiachichou are very much aware of the structural advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage. They sometimes choose this form of marriage over the preferred form of marriage because they recognize that such a marriage has advantages with regard
*583 to what they consider the important goals of the family. After point-
*593 ing out that the sīm-pûà form of marriage has the advantage of being
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183 considerably less expensive than the preferred form of marriage, many
606 of our informants then went on to note that the sīm-pûà marriage assures a family of having a daughter-in-law "who will listen to your words." When asked why it was important to have a girl such as this, the typical

*583 informant pointed out that "this makes it better because she won't
*693 always be talking to her husband about his parents." The following
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183 statement by an elderly village woman is typical of statements by
• 606 other villagers.

> "It is always better for a boy to marry an adopted daughter than to marry a girl from another family. This is because you can get to know an adopted daughter's disposition better and can correct her without causing a lot of trouble. A girl from another family will always get mad when you try to correct her, and then she will say things to her husband and make trouble with his parents."

*583 The choice between the sīm-pûa marriage and the preferred marriage
*577 would thus seem to involve at least three major considerations.
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556 Weighing in favor of the preferred marriage is the fact that it is the
182 socially correct way of marrying and the most prestigious form of
183 marriage. It is the form of marriage which everyone in Hsiachichou would choose if form were the only consideration. Favoring the sīm-pûa form of marriage is the fact that it is the cheaper way of obtaining a wife for a son, and also the recognition that it creates a
[606] structure which is more compatible with the goals of the family. By adopting a girl and raising her as a wife for their son a family replaces a tense and dangerous relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law with the more satisfactory mother-daughter
[178] relationship. Generally speaking, wealthy families of the pre-1930 period chose the preferred marriage more often than the sīm-pûa marriage because they were more concerned with status and could afford the expense of such a marriage. Poorer families, on the other hand, more often chose the sīm-pûa form of marriage as a way to avoid the

there is little reason for a family to adopt a child so soon if they are thinking of using her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, there is every reason to do so if they believe that she can "lead a son into the family." Such confidence is placed in the belief that a number of village families actually adopted two or three female children before finally giving up hope that their daughter-in-law would bear them a son. It is also interesting to note that in several cases such adoptions were arranged by a mother-in-law despite the fact that her daughter-in-law was not in favor of the idea. Apparently it is believed that the good effects of such an adoption can be conveyed to a woman regardless of her desire in the matter.

We have seen in an earlier chapter that a family's decision about the fate of their own female children is in large part a function of the composition of the family. If the analysis we have presented above is correct, the same should be true of a family's decision to adopt a female child. We have argued that there are three reasons for a family's adopting a female child. They might adopt a girl to raise as a wife for a son, as a potential means of bringing a son-in-law into the family, or as a way of improving their own chances of bearing a male child. We should therefore expect to find a very high rate of adoption among families with no children and families with male children, but a low rate of adoption among families with at least one female child but as yet no sons. A childless family would have reason to adopt a girl in the hope that in one way or another she would bring a male into the family, and a family with male children might want to adopt a girl

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that "he couldn't even afford a bride price." Even if a man's parents are dead or living with one of his brothers and he is himself obviously capable of earning a living, he still cannot entirely avoid the onus of having married into his wife's family. It is generally understood that a man loses face by making a matrilocal marriage, and the man who makes such a marriage may therefore always be accused of "not caring about face." As is so often the case with stereotypes, this one is self-perpetuating. The very fact that a man makes a matrilocal marriage is sufficient proof that he is "just the kind of man who would marry into his wife's family."

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Another reason many men give for reluctance to marry matrilocally is the difficult position they would occupy in their wife's family. The man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often treated by his wife's relatives as though his status were closer to that of a child than an adult male. He is expected to defer to them in all matters, and he may be reprimanded and criticized without regard to his status. This was particularly noticeable in the case of a man by the name of Ong Bun-iek who had married into the family of a former prostitute who already had several illegitimate children at the time of their marriage. Living in a large compound in which he was surrounded by his wife's relatives, Ong Bun-iek was forever subjected to overweening authority. One day while we were talking to him one of his wife's children complained that he had given him less rice than he had given to his own children. Ong Bun-iek scolded the child, and when the boy wouldn't stop complaining, hit him. Ong Bun-iek's wife's father's

younger brother happened to be in the room and said something to the effect that Ong Bun-iek was "always favoring his own children." Ong Bun-iek denied this whereupon the other man threw a package of ginger in his face, precipitating a fight which ended with both men wrestling on the floor of the kitchen. Although other members of the several families living in the house were quick enough in interfering to stop the fight, we noticed that there was no sympathy whatsoever for Ong Bun-iek's viewpoint. As one of his wife's relatives explained to us sometime later, "That man is always telling other people what to do even though he married into his wife's family and should be watching other people's faces."

Should a man who has married matrilocally lose his ability to earn a living, his wife's relatives may even go so far as to force him out of the family. A matrilocal marriage seems to be an almost exclusively contractual relationship which does not create the broader social obligations characteristic of a patrilocal marriage. It is undertaken by the woman's parents with certain specific expectations in mind, and if these are not fulfilled the family does not feel any obligation toward the man who entered into such a contract. We know of at least two instances in which a woman's parents forced her husband out of the family because he was no longer making what they considered an adequate contribution to the family income. In one case the family had at first been unable to find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, and as a result had been forced to send their daughter out to work as a prostitute. A few years later she met a man who had a

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good job as a goldsmith in a local town, and when he seemed willing to make a matrilocal marriage the parents were happy to welcome the man into the family as a son-in-law. For a number of years these arrangements apparently worked well enough for both parties, but then in the sixth or seventh year of the marriage the man lost his job. Unable to find another job as a goldsmith, he tried to make a living peddling candies and toys and other small commodities, but he was apparently too old and too unaccustomed to the work to make any of these ventures pay. His wife's relatives then began to criticize him unmercifully until at last he simply took his two children and disappeared. Far from being distressed about this result, the wife's parents seemed to be relieved. According to her mother,

> "It is better not to get married than to marry this kind of a man. Everyone says that a woman will have an easier life after she gets married, but if you marry a man like this you have to grind harder than ever. That man! The first thing he said when he lost his job was that he was going to sell sweet rice, and so I bought all of the things for him, but when he went out he always brought all of the cakes home. Then he said he was going to sell pig's blood, and he worked for one day doing that. Then he tried to sell balloons and other things for children, but he couldn't make a success of that either. He always brought them all home with him. I didn't have any more money for him to try anything else. His wife said, 'Let's go gather rocks', but he said that it was too hard a kind of work for him and wouldn't go. Then he went out to buy junk, but he still just lost money for us. No one was willing to give him any more money after that, and so he just sat home. That's all. That kind of man! He had to let his wife go out and make money to feed him. Can you still call such a creature a man? When he went out to sell things he just sat there like he was dead and didn't call out to people. Of course he didn't sell anything. And just think of what he looks like. As soon as they took one look at him people wouldn't buy anything from him. And when we said a few words to him about it, he turned it around and said we were trying to get rid of him and that that was why we said things to him."

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In the other case the husband was a younger man who was variously employed as a coal miner and coolie. Unfortunately, his work was sporadic, and he was also an addicted gambler. According to his wife's parents, "He spent all his money gambling and buying presents for his girlfriends." This was certainly not literally true, nor is it unusual for village men to spend a great deal of money gambling, but the wife's parents thought it sufficient excuse to be rid of the [851] man. A few years after the woman's younger brother married, the family simply locked her husband out of the house, and with the support of their relatives resisted his efforts to recover even the one child who had taken his surname. He offered the family NT$3000 to let him take his wife and children with him, but the family refused to even consider [463] the offer. Although we are not at all certain of this, it was rumored in the village that the wife was living with another man for whom she was ostensibly working as a cook. The interpretation of several of the family's neighbors was that they wanted to get rid of the husband in order to arrange a marriage with their daughter's "friend". As one of the more sarcastic neighbors put it, "If she is working as a cook, she must be working all night. She's pregnant." Something of the family's attitude towards the situation is apparent in the following conversation between the wife's mother and several of her neighbors.

[851] Mother: "Yesterday that man came again and said they were his children and carried his name, and so he wanted to take them home to live with him. I told him that if he wanted to take the children he had better go to the law courts. I said, 'I won't let you take them away that easily.' He doesn't really want the children. He just wants to take my daughter away. How could she be so good as to go with someone she doesn't even like?"

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1st Neighbor: "If he really wants a divorce, just let him come over here and put his chop on the registration card. Why go to all the trouble of a law court? Each of you can have one child. You give him the older one because he is easier to take care of, and you keep the little one for yourself."

2nd Neighbor: "Yes, don't go into the law courts and get all that trouble for yourself. And definitely don't let him take the little one with him. If you let him take the little one, you will have to have a coffin ready because he won't know how to take care of a sick baby. How would you know whether he would take good care of the child or not?"

1st Neighbor: "Oh, he would take good care of both of them. You can see how much he likes them from the way he acts when he comes here."

Mother: "I don't worry too much about his taking care of them. He really likes them very much, and his older brother's wife likes children too. It is just that some 'dead' person here went and told him that my daughter brought a boy friend home. How could she do that: She was just playing ma jong with a few friends, that's all. I hope the [598] person who told him 'spits blood to death'."

3rd Neighbor: "If he wants the children, just give them to him and get rid of them. It's not so easy to take care of a lot of children. Do you think he likes them so much that he will really take them?"

Mother: "Well, I don't know about that, but I really do like to take care of them. I don't want to give them to him."

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606 In both of these cases the woman's parents had younger male children, and had arranged a matrilocal marriage only as a way to provide for the family until their sons could assume this responsibility. They were therefore not dependent upon their sons-in-law for support in their old age. When a family does not have any younger sons of their own, they are naturally somewhat more restrained in their treatment of a son-in-law. Also, the fact that his wife does not have any brothers usually makes a

583 591 606 man more tolerant of the treatment he receives from her parents. So long as he remains a member of the family he and his children will inherit the family property. But even in these somewhat more fortunate circumstances, many men find that they cannot bear the strain of a matrilocal marriage. One young coal miner who married into a village family remained only two months before running away with his wife. Having only two adopted daughters to depend upon, his wife's mother was furious, even appealing to the gods to help her avenge herself. In her own words,

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> "He was a worthless man who was unwilling to work, and he carried off my daughter even though I treated him very well. After they ran away we looked all through the bamboo groves along the river bank because we thought they might have jumped into the river. I was so good to him and yet he ran away with my daughter, and so I hated him. I asked the gods to let him be crushed to death in a mining accident. A year later when I heard that his shoulder had been broken in an accident I was very happy. But then he recovered, and I told the god that if he would let that man be killed I would burn a hundred sticks of incense to him in an open field. Later when my neighbors came and told me that he had been crushed beyond recognition in the mine I was so happy that I laughed and laughed. That was about ten years ago, and after that my daughter went to live with a peddlar. She still lives with him, but I don't see why. He is short and ugly. You would laugh yourself to death just to look at him."

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We have no way of knowing now who was primarily responsible for the failure of this particular marriage, but it was apparently not a simple case of the man's having "tricked" the family's daughter away from them. When we asked one of the neighbors why it was that he had run away if his mother-in-law treated him so well we received a caustic question in reply, "If she was so good to him why did they first search the river banks when he and his wife disappeared?"

feed herself, but a man can always manage to earn at least enough to eat." The woman who cannot get along with her husband's parents has no alternative but "to swallow her anger," but the man who is at odds with his wife's parents can rely upon his own resources. Depending upon his age and his profession, this may be more or less of a hardship, but it is never the hardship that it would be for a woman who left her husband's family.

We have already seen that the in-law relationship created by the preferred patrilocal marriage is typically one of tension and hostility. Because of a common interest in the man who is the husband of the one and son of the other, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law often become involved in a bitter struggle. What saves the family from being torn asunder by this conflict are the strong ties which bind a son to his parents. Nothing could be clearer than the precept that a man must place his parents' welfare before the interests of his wife. "A man's parents are like his arms and legs; his wife is like his shirt and pants." Although a man may occasionally sympathize with his wife's quarrel with his mother, he would never abandon his parents for the sake of his wife. If she would sever ties with the family she must do it alone, and it is therefore virtually impossible for her to do it at all. The strength of the relationship between parent and child thus serves to balance the potentially disastrous tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.

The situation is again very different in the case of the matrilocal marriage. Here also one finds that a great deal of tension is generated

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by the entrance of an outsider into the family circle, but this tension is not effectively counteracted by the strength of the parent-child relationship. The matrilocal marriage does not create a structure which is a simple inverse of the structure resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The dyadic relationships of the Chinese family are defined in terms of a patrilocal family, so that even when a woman marries matrilocally her husband takes precedence over her parents. As a result, the crucial parent-child relationship is much weaker in a matrilocal marriage than in a patrilocal marriage. While a son would be severely criticized for siding with his wife against his parents, a woman who has married matrilocally may be criticized for siding with her parents. We heard several caustic remarks about a woman who was apparently in the habit of taking her parents' side in their quarrels with her husband. For example,

> "That woman! She already has two children, but she still sides with her father when he and her husband get into an argument. Where else could one find a woman like that? He married into her family, and so her father and mother are always saying things to him, but she always takes her parent's side. It is as though she were just married, and she already has two children.

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The matrilocal marriage is also weakened by personal tensions between the parents and their daughter. Since most families who arrange a matrilocal marriage do so because the wife is barren and has borne no sons, the great majority of women who make such a marriage are adopted daughters. Of 26 women for whom a matrilocal marriage was arranged 20 (77 percent) were adopted daughters. While these women are generally obedient in their relations with their parents, they are nonetheless not as loyal to the family as a son or a daughter. They know that they

*583
4 591 are adopted, and they naturally feel some resentment of the treatment
*593 they have received. In the case of the sim-pua marriage this does not
591 matter because the pivotal relationship is that of the son and his parents,
• 606 but it becomes a weakness in the matrilocal marriage where the adopted daughter becomes the crucial link. Moreover, whatever resentment a daughter may feel towards her parents is intensified by the fact that they have arranged a matrilocal marriage for her. It is assumed that no good man would ever make such a marriage, and so naturally no woman is ever happy to have to marry in this way. Just as the adopted daughter tends to blame all of the misfortunes of a lifetime on her parents' having given her away, the woman who marries matrilocally characteristically blames her marital dissatisfactions on her parents for having forced her into such a marriage. To cite but one example,

> "To marry this 'dead man' is to 'want to die.'" He married into my family, I didn't marry into his. I didn't want to marry him, but my foster parents insisted. At that time my father had lost a lot of money in business, and he wanted to marry someone in quickly who would make money. My husband was a coal miner then, and made good money, and so they talked him into marrying into my family. If I could have married the man I wanted to marry, I wouldn't be living this poorly now. That man is doing very well now."

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581 The family created by the matrilocal marriage is thus much more brittle than the family resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The tension inherent in the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship is offset in the case of the patrilocal marriage by the weakness of the daughter-in-law's position and the strong bond between a son and his parents, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage the relatively strong position of the son-in-law and the weak ties between the daughter and her parents little protection from the tensions between the newcomer and his wife's

*583 591 606 581 parents. As a consequence, a matrilocal marriage is much less likely to succeed than a patrilocal marriage. We do not know of a single case of a daughter-in-law's deserting her husband's family or a son's failing in his obligations to support his parents in their old age. By comparison, we know of at least 8 cases in which matrilocal marriages failed in their original purpose. Aside from the 2 instances in which the parents drove their son-in-law out of the family, our genealogies include 6 cases in which the son-in-law deserted of his own accord. In 3 of these cases the wife remained with her parents, and in 3 cases the husband persuaded his wife to bring the children and leave with him.

*583 591 588 581 We have already seen that it is "only a man who doesn't care about face" who will marry into his wife's family. Although the point is one which is not ordinarily made in discussions of matrilocal marriage in China, the woman's family does not lose face by arranging such a marriage for their daughter. The marriage does not enhace their status as would a preferred marriage, but neither is it something of which they must be ashamed. What concerns a family considering such a marriage is not what other people will say, but rather the question of the risks involved in such an arrangement. A family is always concerned that their son-in-law will not be a man of good character, for they too assume that no good man is ever willing to make such a marriage. More importantly, they are aware of the fact that such marriages are much less

*583 591 581 stable than patrilocal marriages. The man who is willing to marry into their family may desert them in their old age, and may even manage to "steal" their daughter and their grandchildren. In discussing the role-

121 and sisters will not tolerate. By the time he is five or six years old
182 the average child has learned that if he tells his mother a playmate hit him he will get punished for fighting, but if he tells the other child's mother he obtains the satisfaction of having his tormentor beaten "to let him see." Perhaps such early experiences lay the foundation for an adult appreciation of the complexities of the social world. If this is the case, an interesting possibility arises. It may then be that the utility of functional analyses in anthropology varies with the extent to which childhood experiences help to produce a socially sophisticated adult.

121 Aside from determining the extent to which the people of a society
182 are aware of the effects of certain social arrangements, it would also
593 seem important for the anthropologists to discover how much weight they
592 give to these effects. While the people of Hsiachichou seem to be
621 aware that the three forms of marriage create three different types of
602 affinal ties, they do not seem to attach much value to the potential
[604] advantages and disadvantages of these variations. Although several informants did mention the lack of affinal obligations as one of the advantages of the sim-pûa form of marriage, the more harmonious mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship was always mentioned as the more salient advantage of such a marriage. In fact, it would seem that the villagers generally consider the internal structure of the family as more important than the nature of the ties between families. It was only in explaining the advantage of village exogamy that our informants commonly referred to inter-family ties, and even here they

the sīm-pôa marriage dropped sharply. While more than a third of all marriages made in the years before 1930 were of this variety, there have only been two such marriages in the years after 1930. Since this change was a direct consequence of the younger generation's dislike of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, we can say that the causes of their distaste are also among the determinants of the present social structure of Hsiachichou. A higher frequency of sīm-pûa marriages in the village in the preceding thirty years would have meant weaker affinal ties for many families, a more harmonious relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, a less satisfactory husband-wife relationship, and probably a much higher frequency of extra-marital relations. By refusing to marry their foster siblings the younger generations of the village brought about a sharp change in both the internal and external relations of their community. Why then did the younger generations of the family reject the sīm-pûa form of marriage? In our earlier discussion we considered two possible explanations. As Edward Westermarck's view of the incest taboo suggests, it may be that the intimacy which obtains between foster siblings results in their having an aversion to sexual relations; or it may be that the social identification of foster siblings as "brother" and "sister" provides the basis for an inadvertent generalization of the incest taboo. We cannot decide between the two hypotheses on the basis of these data alone, since the two crucial variables are confounded. The parties to a sīm-pûa marriage always grow up in intimate association, and they are also always identified as "brother" and "sister." There are, however, other data which indicate that the

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moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

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course after course of heavy food, there is little drunkenness, but the goal of the good host is to get most of his guests at least pink-cheeked or his dinner is not a success and his hospitality may be questioned. The businessman or official who has to look in on two or three of these ordeals in an evening learns to shift the favored "drain the glass" toast to a moderate sip. Not to develop this skill invites disaster since it is under these conditions that the major decisions in a man's business life are made.

Considerable planning must have gone into the dinner party for Lim Hue-lieng. He could avoid without offense as many toasts as any man, and he had a reputation for holding his liquor well. Perhaps that evening he was feeling more cautious about giving offense; perhaps, as some villagers believe, his liquor was tampered with; or perhaps he was simply careless. At any rate, he was toasted again and again and proved no match for the concerted efforts of seven men. He was brought home nearly senseless with drink. During the night, some unknown men secretly entered his house and efficiently severed the tendons of his knees, elbows, and fingers. The attack was designed to cripple, not to kill. It was two years before Lim Hue-lieng's wounds healed. When they did, he could neither walk nor clench his fists.

Lim Hue-lieng had loyal followers and friends, but during his long convalescence they necessarily formed new alliances and became involved in other business enterprises. When his injuries healed, it was apparent to everyone that he no longer had the physical strength prerequisite to his former occupations. A man who cannot walk cannot gather up gangs of men quickly, and a man who cannot clench his fists cannot enforce his terms. Lim Hue-lieng sold his house in Tapu and moved himself and his second wife and child back to his father's house in Peihotien.

Lim So-lan told me about those last years with Lim Hue-lieng: "We lived with them for over two years. I had never done much heavy work before, but after we moved there I had to do all kinds of hard work, even in the fields. I cried a lot in my stomach in those days, but I didn't complain. I gritted my teeth and did any kind of work that had to be done, and so his parents liked me, and for awhile we all got along very well. Then my husband decided to adopt A-hua, and that made his first wife angry. She went around telling everybody, 'They can't make any money and yet they go ahead and adopt another child for other people to feed.' She didn't dare say anything about it to him

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because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

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A-hua was too deep in her misery to comprehend the direction of her mother's burst of anger. She continued to sob, "Oh, if only you had let me take that job last summer. I'll find a job somewhere else. You just tell me how much money you want and I'll send it home every month. I don't want to be at home anymore. It is too much now."

Lim So-lan looked exhausted. She sat down next to her daughter and told her sadly, "All right. If you find a job, I'll let you go. You don't need to send any money. If you want to go, go. I'm going to sell the house and let you two make your own lives. I want no more of this noise and turmoil. I am old now and I want peace."

A-hua was frightened by her mother's weary resignation. She whimpered, "She always says she hated me since I was a child."

Lim So-lan's old mother found she was missing too much with her back to the group. She rejoined them, muttering angrily to her daughter, "That is true, So-lan. Gioq-ki says it to anyone who will listen. She didn't like A-hua from the time she was adopted."

So-lan just nodded without comment. The other women began to drift out; the excitement was over. As I left I heard one of them giving A-hua the age-old consolation: "Never mind. Never mind. In a few years you will be married and won't have to bear her meanness anymore. Just be patient. They will find you a husband soon and then there will be two families, and she won't be able to order you about."

Nothing came of A-hua's outburst. When the factory reopened the following week, she returned to work as an obedient daughter should, and she continued to be servant and scapegoat for her elder sister. I have included the episode here not because it was a turning point in A-hua's life, but because it illustrates how different Lim So-lan's life is from the happy, peaceful existence expected by women with married children and grandchildren. Her husband's anxieties about her future were justified. So-lan's daughters give her little comfort and her relations with her son-in-law are at best distant. "I never speak to Chang," she said, "partly because I can't speak Mandarin, and partly because I have never forgiven him. He never speaks to me either except to ask me where Gioq-ki is when he can't find her."

Gioq-ki is certainly the cause of most of her mother's unhappiness, but life has not fulfilled all the promises it seemed to offer Gioq-ki either. She is, or could be, an attractive woman—tall, graceful, intense. In her mother's face one can still see the gentle prettiness of a

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chapter 7 [p. 75]

LIM A-POU: A WIFE AND A SISTER

Lim A-pou was born into a family living on the far edge of the Hotien district near the town of Tapu, but only the earliest days of her life were spent in this home. When she was eight or nine months old, the Lim family adopted her to bring her up as a wife for their eldest son. As the Lims were still poor tenant farmers at the time, one of their motives must have been a desire to ensure a wife for their son. They could not be certain that they would be able to afford the bride price if they waited to acquire a wife for him when he reached marriageable age. The marriage of foster siblings has less prestige than that in which an adult bride is brought into the family, but there is some compensation in the knowledge that a girl raised in the family usually makes a more willing daughter-in-law. Even the wealthy who can easily afford the more prestigious marriage sometimes choose to adopt their sons' wives as infants for the sake of future domestic harmony. The introduction of a young woman into a family almost inevitably results in a competitive and often openly hostile relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; the girl who enters the house as a child is socialized in the ways of the house and bound to her husband's mother by all the ties of parental affection. She is both daughter-in-law and daughter. The adult bride is forever comparing her present life with that in her natal home, but the bride who grows up in her

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presence to any thought that the family might eventually be divided. "But I don't think that will work. He doesn't say anything, so I don't say anything. But if he ever tries to take it by force, I will say plenty. This is left from my grandfather's estate—it is not something my uncle made."

A-bok is deeply in conflict about the future of the family and the decision his mother is urging him to make. From what I know of the family properties and economy, A-bok would certainly not suffer as master of his own half of the estate, and he might be better off. He is not only an industrious farmer, he is also a modern farmer. He is one of the few men in the village who reads the farm bulletins and tries new methods. He speaks with pride of older generations coming to ask his father's and grandfather's advice, but he fails to mention that older farmers now come to him for information on marketing or the new insecticides. In these areas of life he is confident. But, his uncle has always managed the paper work, the taxes, the officials, without bothering to explain his actions to A-bok. A-bok's inexperience makes him uncertain, and his uncle's impatience prevents him from asking for the information that would make the paper work seem less mysterious. He is afraid of his uncle—as are most people. A-bok grew up under an older generation of strong, dominating personalities—his grandfather, his father, and finally his uncle. He has learned what none of these men have had to learn: to bow his head and go on working. But for A-bok the strongest deterrent from making the decision to divide the family is contained in the above interview when he explained why he could not allow the land to go unweeded. "They would say, 'Huh! Look at the Lims now. In former generations they were so good and now they are just the same as us.'" Personal pride weighs very little, but family pride is the burden of generation after generation.

In this family of strong-willed, hot-tempered personalities, A-bok's wife, A-ki, provides the comic relief. She stumbles through the midst of family quarrels, oblivious and humming. If she feels the tension around her, she reacts to it by dropping a bowl on her foot or mistaking sugar for salt. Nothing in her mother-in-law's dark looks seems to be able to silence her aimless chattering. After the explosive quarrel over the cucumbers, she didn't wait an hour before asking her husband to buy her some useless item of clothing. Undaunted by his silence, she prattled on, and when he finally vented his anger by

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throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
[561] sisosiv marriage is inversely related to prosperity and directly related to the lessening power of older generations over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for the bride in her new home largely originates from the groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% sisosiv marriages in which the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of the brides who married chao fu and thus did not move to the groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal" forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

597 There are a number of different reasons for the adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to invite a natural baby boy (chao ti), and as a servant (1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

121 182 606 59 As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

121 182 818 51 Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

182 59 The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ts'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 290

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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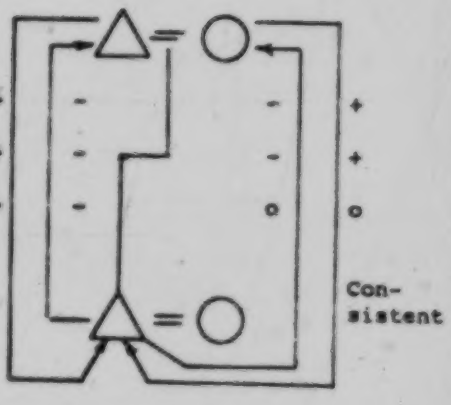
(Items or Postulates)

11 - Between Generations
12 - Between Age Levels
13 - Between Sexes

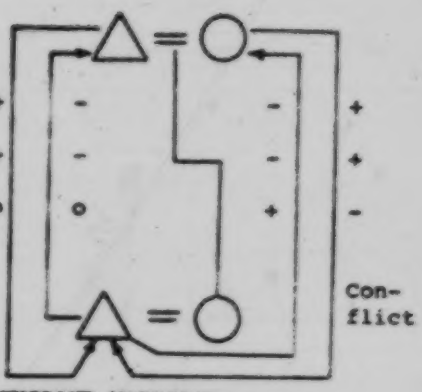
Summary: Consistent



REGULAR MARRIAGE

11 - Between Generations
12 - Between Age Levels
13 - Between Sexes

Summary Consistent



ADOPTED-IN HUSBAND MARRIAGE

Note: Arrowed lines indicate a social relationship which may be characterized by superordination (+), subordination (-), or be neutral (o) with respect to the three items listed on page 287 and summarized briefly above. Only in the adopted-in husband household do these three rules create conflict.

Figure 10. Relations Between Parents and Child's Spouse by Sex

562 593 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby, the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control, but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in tne study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

114 562 593 [561] [888] Another element related to the above argument is found in the requirement that the young must show respect for the aged. The traditional literature frequently includes statements about the respect due from females to males and from young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

• [606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

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[606] a book, there will be a discussion of the stage of life in which a Chinese woman comes into her own with high status, i.e., when she is a mother-in-law with daughters-in-law to supervise and a home to manage (Smith, 1899:277; Fairbank, 1962:31). There is an implied assumption, occasionally made explicit, that a woman often possesses great power and authority in the domestic sphere in spite of the fact her husband may have sole control of external relations between the household and the outside world. Once more the obscurification is continued in that the discussion focuses on the relationships between the females within the home and neglects the relationships between the older woman and her husband and married son. For example, in an outstanding work which stresses various relationships within the family, Lang (1946) devotes a special section to each of the following roles or role relationships: Father and Son (26-9), Mother and Son (29-30), Father-Daughter (30), Daughter-in-law (47-8), Wife (48-50), Mother (52), Widow (52-3), Old Man and his Married Son (229-31), Old Woman and her Married Son (231-2), and Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law (232-7). The only one of these categories which might suggest the relationship between a woman and her husband and son as compared with her daughter-in-law in the same household is the category, Old Woman and Her Son (231-2) but the topic is neglected in this section and nowhere in the book does Lang really confront the dynamics of this issue in a single household.